



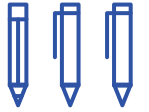
Katarzyna Hryniuk



Non-natives writing for Anglo-American journals:



Challenges and urgent needs



Non-natives writing for Anglo-American journals:

Challenges and urgent needs

To my Parents

Katarzyna Hryniuk

**Non-natives writing for
Anglo-American journals:**
Challenges and urgent needs



Reviewers

Halina Chodkiewicz

Maria Wysocka

Commissioning Editor

Ewa Wyszynska

Proofreading

Ewa Balcerzyk

Cover Design

Magdalena Jędraszko

Index

Zdzisława Słuchocka-Ziemińska

Layout and Typesetting

Dariusz Górski

Published with financial support from the Institute of English Studies, University of Warsaw

© Copyright by Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2019

ISBN 978-83-235-3677-2 (print)

ISBN 978-83-235-3693-2 (e-pub)

ISBN 978-83-235-3685-7 (pdf online)

ISBN 978-83-235-3701-4 (mobi)

Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego

00-497 Warszawa, ul. Nowy Świat 4

e-mail: wuw@uw.edu.pl

Internet bookshop: www.wuw.pl

1st Edition, Warsaw 2019

Print and binding POZKAL

■ Contents

Introduction	7
Chapter 1. English as the leading language of academic communication worldwide	11
1.1. World Englishes and the problem of standards	11
1.2. English as a global language, <i>linguistic imperialism</i> , and World English	15
1.3. Upsides and downsides of the dominance of English in scholarship	22
1.4. Poland as a semiperiphery country and Anglophone-center publications	27
1.5. Two main roles of English in academic publications.	29
Chapter 2. Written academic discourse and its composition	33
2.1. Defining academic discourse	33
2.2. Analyzing academic discourse: The main paradigms	38
2.3. The genre of a research article	40
2.4. The characteristics of a research article in linguistics and applied linguistics.	43
2.5. Culture-specific differences in research article writing	48
2.6. Academic writing as a cognitive, sociocognitive and sociocultural process	52
Chapter 3. Writing for publishing in international and local journals	55
3.1. The main determinant of the number of international publications	55
3.2. Evaluation of academic work based on publishing output	57
3.3. Gatekeeping practices and non-discursive obstacles	59
3.4. Publishing in local journals	61
Chapter 4. Research on English as a foreign language academic writing by Polish scholars: The main problems explored	67
4.1. The impact of research on foreign language academic writing on the area of second language academic writing	67
4.2. Foreign language academic writing explored by Polish researchers	68
4.2.1. Comparative analyses of academic texts	69
4.2.2. Negative attitude towards developing the writing skill	70
4.2.3. Research focusing on the process of writing	72
4.2.4. Research on the epistemic function of writing	75

4.2.5. Academic writing to learn language and content	77
4.2.6. Other directions of academic writing research by Polish scholars	78
Chapter 5. The study	87
5.1. The background of the study	87
5.2. The aim and the research questions	89
5.3. The method	90
5.3.1. Description of the tool	92
5.3.2. The characteristics of research articles	94
5.4. The participants	95
5.5. The procedure	96
5.6. Results	97
5.6.1. The system of evaluation of academic work based on publications in highly-rated journals	97
5.6.2. The double-blind peer review system	101
5.6.3. Publishing in local journals, in the scholars' mother tongue in particular	104
5.6.4. Writing for international versus local journals in terms of effortfulness	106
5.6.5. Native English speakers' privilege and non-native speakers' advantages in writing for publishing	107
5.6.6. Discursive and non-discursive obstacles researchers face when publishing papers and ways of overcoming them	110
5.6.7. The attitude, work and comments of the reviewers and other publication staff	112
5.6.8. The aspects of the text that were mostly focused on in the reviews. . .	114
5.6.9. The strongest point of the article: The main reason for the article being accepted	116
5.6.10. The people who contributed to the success in publishing the article and the ways they helped	117
5.6.11. A particularly challenging section of the article	119
5.6.12. The use of authorial voice	120
5.6.13. The use of hedges	123
5.6.14. The use of evaluative language for claiming centrality	125
5.6.15. The way the researchers learnt to write research articles	127
5.7. Summary of interview findings	131
Chapter 6. Conclusions and implications for instruction	135
Acknowledgments	141
Appendix	143
References	145
Index of names	159
Subject index	163
Streszczenie	169

■ Introduction

Writing for scholarly publication has become an increasingly competitive task as the number of researchers, and consequently the number of research articles published in academic journals, rise each year. For example, the figures in the *UNESCO science report* (2016) show that only in the period from 2008 to 2014 the number of research papers published in journals included in the Science Citation Index of Thomson Reuters' Web of Science grew by 23%. The global publication enterprise involves thousands of publishers and approximately 8 million researchers worldwide (Hyland, 2015). According to the abovementioned UNESCO report, as far as the number of research articles published is concerned, apparently the U.S. takes the lead with a quarter of the world's publication output produced by American scholars, but also other countries, such as China, Malaysia or Iran have experienced a very strong growth in the number of international publications in the last decades.

Scholars from the Central and Eastern European Countries, like Poland, also feel the pressure of publishing their findings in prestigious journals, mainly because of the reforms introduced in higher education in the last decades. They established new evaluation systems based on international publications in many countries. Consequently, Polish scholars are also externally motivated to publish in top-tier journals because of the introduction of the new evaluation system in 2011. Thus, according to the UNESCO report, in the period from 2005 to 2014 the number of publications in Poland increased by 41% (from 13,843 to 23,498), but in 2014 it was still almost four times lower than that of Germany, for instance (Hollanders and Kanerva, 2016). Also, the report shows that from all European Union countries Poland had the lowest average citation rate for publications in this year (Hollanders and Kanerva, 2016). It can be concluded that although the demands are very high, some Polish writers are confident enough to submit papers into such journals, but still the numbers are not very high.

Bearing in mind the fact that the majority of highly rated academic journals are based in English-speaking countries and the people involved in the publication process originate from these countries as well, it can be predicted that when trying to publish in such journals, Polish writers face many challenges, and there are many reasons for this. First of all, not only does it require knowing the language well enough, but also Anglo-American writing conventions. Slavic writing conventions which Polish writers follow are shaped by different literacy traditions, and changing the writing patterns may be problematic. Moreover, some Polish writers intentionally resist the

Anglo-American writing conventions, they generally oppose using English for research publication and spread this negative attitude towards international publication in their academic communities (Duszak, 2006; Kulczycki, Engels, Pölönen, Bruun, Dušková, Guns, Nowotniak, Petr, Sivertsen, Istenič Starčič and Zuccala, 2018).

It must be stated that Poland is a peculiar country when it comes to the attitude towards using English for research writing and publication. On the one hand, scholars working in English departments in particular – linguists, applied linguists and other specialists – have always felt the need to read and publish in English (Reichert, 2005a). On the other, there is a large number of scholars in the humanities who openly resist using English for publication purposes (Duszak, 2006). The reason is that since the 1990s for some scholars the writing patterns which were introduced through the widespread use of English have been considered as the “less *‘intellectualized’* variant, exploiting communication patterns more appropriate for popular and didactic functions” and were “denounced by others as a symbol of global monoculture and linguistic domination” (Duszak, 2012: 34–35). This situation is clearly visible in the research results of Kulczycki et al. (2018). The authors showed that from all eight European countries explored, Poland produces the least publications in English (17.2%), much less even than the neighboring Slovakia (25.8%) or the Czech Republic (26.4%), not to mention Scandinavian countries or Belgium. The researchers claim that Polish cultural and historical heritage can be an explanation. They state that before the political changes in 1989, the dominant foreign language in Poland was Russian, and English was not regarded as the most appropriate language of research publications (Kulczycki et al., 2018). Thus, the attitude towards publishing in English varies among scholars representing the humanities and social sciences.

While English may not necessarily be the main challenge in publishing in Anglo-American journals, Polish writers often face other discursive and non-discursive obstacles. It must be remembered that Poland belongs to the group of semi-periphery countries (Bennet, 2014; Lillis and Curry, 2006, 2010); the term is explained in more detail in section 1.4 of chapter 1. Therefore, with worse financial situation of Polish higher education institutions and lower salaries than those earned in the Western European countries, Polish scholars do not have the same opportunities for international collaboration, and consequently for having so many high-quality publications. Sometimes they also lack the funds for specialist equipment, software or bibliographical sources which they need. Moreover, the tradition of producing such publications, and of instruction aiming at preparing young scholars for this task, is much longer and more effective in the Western European countries, so Polish writers do not have an equal start. In particular, the education in the area of academic writing seems to be insufficient in Poland. Moreover, the changing writing conventions and no total agreement concerning their proper use, even between editors and reviewers from Anglo-American countries, frequently cause confusion among both Polish writers and academic writing instructors.

Thus, this book explores the challenges that Polish linguists and applied linguists face when writing in English as an Additional Language (EAL) for publishing in

Anglo-American journals. The aim of the qualitative research carried out for the purposes of this work was to investigate the problems in the Polish context, which seems to be ignored in the literature on the topic. Recently, there has been a proliferation of publications on writing for publishing by foreign authors. In the descriptions of their research results, most often Poland was not taken into account as a separate country (cf. *UNESCO science report*, 2016), but together with other countries, under the general name – the European Union. However, it must be remembered that the situation concerning writing for publishing in different European Union member countries varies tremendously. Moreover, apart from the works by Duszak (2006, 2012), Duszak and Lewkowicz (2008) and Kulczycki et al. (2018), there are no publications by Polish scholars about writing research articles for an international audience, other than those including analyses of Polish writers' texts. Therefore, my hope is that this book will fill this gap.

This book examines the opinions of 16 Polish scholars, linguists and applied linguists, working at six public universities in Poland, who succeeded in publishing their articles in high-impact, Anglo-American journals, on the challenges they experienced while writing them and in the process of publication. In this study, text-based interviews were used in order to carry out an in-depth investigation and provide a thick description of the issues. Thus, the study addresses the following main research question:

1. What are the challenges that Polish writers face when trying to publish in Anglo-American academic journals?

The semi-structured interviews consisted of 15 questions. The first five, as well as the last one were more general and they explored the scholars' attitudes, beliefs, and needs concerning the problem. Thus, the following additional research question was posed:

2. What are the writers' beliefs, attitudes and needs with regard to writing for publishing in academic journals?

To answer the second research question, the scholars were asked to express their views on the global evaluation system of academic work based on publications in international journals, the double-blind peer review system, publishing in local journals, and on the widely discussed in the literature issue of non-native-speaker disadvantage.

However, the majority of the questions asked about discursive and non-discursive challenges that the writers faced before or during the publication process. In each case, they referred to the first or one of the first research articles published in prestigious Anglo-American journals, authored by each participant of the study, and selected by me from their lists of publications. They were analyzed before the interviews, mainly to find the aspects of the texts, such as expressions of authorial self, the use of hedges, and the ways of claiming centrality of the research, which according to previous studies cause difficulties in writing, primarily to the authors representing other than Anglo-American cultures (for quantitative studies on these text aspects see also: Hryniuk, 2018a, 2018b). Because of the fact that these were semi-structured interviews, the participants also discussed their experiences in writing for publishing more widely, and expressed their reflections on it as well as on the process of learning to write in Academic English.

The chapters preceding the study part provide the background – an overview of previous research and concepts connected with the main problem explored. Thus, chapter 1 is devoted to the issue of English being the language of international publications. It presents the main frameworks referring to the center–periphery structure and the varied position of English in the world. It considers the topic of non-native-speaker disadvantage and two main roles of English in writing for publishing as well as advantages and disadvantages of the dominance of English in academia. Chapter 2 first defines and then characterizes academic discourse. It describes the main research paradigms used in its analyses. It focuses on the genre of research article (RA), in particular in the area of linguistics and applied linguistics. It considers culture-specific differences in RA writing and describes the processes involved in producing academic texts. It also includes a short review of early and more recent models of writing. Chapter 3 considers the issue of writing for publishing from the geopolitical point of view. First, it presents the main facts about the increasing number of publications produced worldwide, the Polish and the global system of evaluation of academic output and the criticism of the latter. It discusses the role of gatekeepers (in other words, editors and reviewers) in the publication process, and non-discursive problems experienced by writers. Chapter 4 is an overview of studies on the characteristics of academic discourse, and on the main problems involved in learning and teaching academic writing in Poland carried out by Polish scholars. This issue is particularly important because the challenges that Polish writers face in writing for publishing very often derive from the way they were educated. It also indicates which lines of research need to be continued in order to provide Polish novice writers with appropriate instruction on writing for publishing in EAL. Chapter 5 is the study, which has been outlined above. The views of the participants are extensively quoted and described in this chapter in order to provide the readers with a detailed account of the problems involved in writing for publishing, occurring in the Polish context. Finally, Chapter 6 includes conclusions and implications for instruction.

I hope that the results of the study will be of interest to both researchers exploring academic discourse, novice writers and academic writing instructors. The themes explored in it are worth the attention for many reasons. First of all, reflecting on the problems and carrying out research in this area may be the first step towards overcoming the challenges described by the participants of the study. Second, raising awareness of the characteristics of academic discourse is crucial for both academic writing teachers and writers themselves in order for the latter to develop expertise in RA writing. Finally, providing novice writers with proper instruction based on research findings should result in more submissions of articles authored by Polish writers to international journals. Consequently, the impact of Polish thought on knowledge construction should increase as well.

Chapter 1

■ English as the leading language of academic communication worldwide

Probably the most broadly discussed in literature problem linked with the subject of writing for publishing by EAL writers is the non-native-speaker disadvantage. Therefore, this chapter is mainly devoted to the topic of inequalities connected with English being the language of international publications and the center–periphery structure. Thus, the first section (1.1) discusses the spread of English worldwide and the problem of standards. The next section (1.2) describes the concept of English as a global language, linguistic imperialism and World English. The following section (1.3) presents the advantages and disadvantages of the dominance of English in academia around the world. Section 1.4 includes the characteristics of Poland as a semiperiphery country and describes the status of English in Polish higher education institutions in particular. Finally, section 1.5 presents the two main roles of English in academic publications.

1.1. World Englishes and the problem of standards

It is impossible to consider the dominant role of English in academia all over the world, and specifically in academic writing, without introducing first Kachru's (1985, 1992, 2001) model of the three concentric circles presenting the spread of World Englishes (i.e., varieties of English). The model will be outlined below because it provides a very useful terminology for further discussion. It classifies Englishes according to nations and acquisition patterns.

The expansion of English in this model is captured with reference to the following three concentric circles: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. Thus, the Inner Circle (also called *the center*) are countries in which English is spoken as the mother tongue (i.e., a native language – ENL, or first language – L1). It is the medium of everyday communication between family members, mainly at home. It is associated with white descendants of people from the British Isles and is spoken in countries such as: the U.S., the U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These varieties of English are standardized and provide the norms for English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learning (i.e., British English – BrE, American English – AmE, etc.).

The countries in which English is a second/official language (ESL) constitute the Outer Circle. These are mainly countries which are historically related to the British Empire through the process of colonization (e.g., Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Kenya,

Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Zambia). These varieties of English are mainly used in the multilingual societies in such spheres of life as education, government and administration, and they are influenced by the local L1s. As Motschenbacher (2013: 11) writes, very often they are “in a process of developing their own linguistic norms, thereby emancipating themselves from BrE as the normative reference point.”

All other countries where English is learnt and used, but which are not historically connected to the British Empire, belong to the Expanding Circle. In these countries English is considered as a Foreign Language (EFL), and it is learned in formal educational environments. These are Inner Circle varieties of English which are usually the norm for countries belonging to the Expanding Circle (Motschenbacher, 2013). However, in the light of the ongoing discussion on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), also referred to as English as an international language (Jenkins, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2004), this claim has been criticized, as English is very often used by its non-native speakers for international communication with representatives of the countries constituting all three circles, not only with native English speakers¹ (e.g., see: Xiaoqiong and Xianxing, 2011). Kachru (2001: 520) himself stated that in his World Englishes framework “[t]he emphasis is on pluralism, not on the dichotomy between ‘us and them,’ ‘native and nonnative.’” Thus, his intention was to treat varieties of English in egalitarian manner, and he called his approach *liberation linguistics* (i.e., anti-imperialistic), as opposed to *deficit linguistics*, referring to native standards. These approaches were the basis of the so-called *English Today* debate between the distinguished scholars: Randolph Quirk and Braj Kachru (see: Kachru, 1991; Quirk, 1990).

An equivalent of Kachru’s (1985, 1992, 2001) model in the European context consists of Berns’s (1995) concentric circles of European Englishes. In this model the Inner Circle is formed by English-speaking countries (the U.K., Ireland), the Outer Circle consists of non-Anglophone countries that use English as the second language (L2) (e.g., Finland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden). In those countries English is used at universities and in cross-cultural communication. The third circle is called Expanding and in the countries belonging to this circle English is used as a foreign language (Berns, 1995).

It must be emphasized that the number of EFL speakers from the Expanding Circle is the largest and it is continuously growing. Presently, it is claimed that the total number of people who use English to varying degrees on everyday basis is around 2 billion, and non-native speakers outnumber its native speakers by around three or four to one (Crystal, 2006, 2008; Rees-Miller, 2017: 595). Therefore, it is widely disputed whether native-speaker English should be the norm, the standard, and the target of language learning, and it raises the question of the ownership of the language (Widdowson, 1994).

Widdowson (1994) made a few important points with regard to the notion of standard English and the problem of who should set standards for others to follow, as the variety

¹ Although the term *native English speaker* is very controversial, it will be used here after Jenkins (2006), meaning: an educated person who uses standard English as his or her mother tongue.

of English used by representatives of the Inner Circle started to be questioned. First, he stated that in fact standard English is a written variety of English designed for institutional purposes (e.g., education, business, administration, etc.). Further, he wrote that:

Standard English is an entry condition and the custodians of it the gatekeepers. You can, of course, persist in your nonstandard ways, if you choose, but then do not be surprised to find yourself marginalized, perpetually kept out on the periphery. What you say will be less readily attended to, assigned less importance, if it is not expressed in the grammatically approved manner. And if you express yourself in writing which is both ungrammatical and badly spelled, you are not likely to be taken very seriously. (Widdowson, 1994: 381)

Although there exist other conceptualizations of standard English (e.g., Trudgill and Hannah, 2008), for the purposes of this work the abovementioned definition and the description are the most adequate.

Pennycook (1994: 115) when discussing the problem in his book referred to the process of standardization of education in the mid-19th-century Britain, which led to the standardization of the English language. He wrote that already then “[t]he standard was based on a concept of a *standard literary language*,” that is literary texts. This emphasizes the fact expressed by Widdowson (1994) that the written variety of English has set standards.

Moreover, Widdowson (1994) claims that every language variety has two functions: communicative and communal. It means that it is used not only for communication, but it also expresses the sense of community. As it is the case with all languages, standard English expresses the identity of a particular community, their conventions and values (i.e., culture). Therefore, languages are symbolic possessions of the communities. He claims that English is an international language. It serves the purposes of many communities, which “transcendent traditional communal and cultural boundaries” (Widdowson, 1994: 382). Due to this, Widdowson (1994) explains, it is not the people from the British Isles, native speakers of English, to whom standard English belongs, in its written form in particular. It is the possession of communities of researchers, scholars from all disciplines, and other professionals. He states that international English conceptualized in this way “provides for effective communication, but at the same time it establishes the status and stability of the institutional conventions which define these international activities ... they in effect create their own cultures, their own standards” (Widdowson, 1994: 382). The ideas expressed by the author are definitely very incisive. However, he did not take into consideration the fact that according to research findings, for example by Hyland (2015), among the gatekeepers of international research journals (i.e., editors and reviewers) in many disciplines, native speakers of English from the U.K. and the U.S. (the Inner Circle) prevail, and therefore the Anglo-American conventions of writing are still the standard to be followed by native speakers of languages other than English (see also: Canagarajah, 1996, 2002; Kaplan, 2001; Tardy, 2004).

Aside from the criticism linked with the problem of the ownership of standard English, Kachru’s circle model may also be regarded as an imperfect tool for describing

the spread of English around the world, because of the complexity of sociolinguistic realities in some countries (see: Motschenbacher, 2013). It has been criticized, for example, for being rigidly based on the concept of a nation with political boundaries setting a national variety of English, for not taking into consideration intra-circle diversities, for not allowing for any flexibility in categorization of countries, and for failing to account for some of them as they exhibit characteristics of more than one circle. For instance, South Africa is a country considered as very heterogeneous in terms of the use of English varieties, so it is not easily classified (Bruthiaux, 2003). Moreover, Kachru's model is regarded as flawed because it fails to take into account the changing demography of some countries, caused by immigration (Motschenbacher, 2013). Finally, as Bruthiaux (2003) claims, it overlooks the fact that the norms of spoken language differ much more across the circles than the written language norms. Despite this criticism, the terminology introduced in Kachru's model has been very helpful in discussing the role and the use of English around the world. Bruthiaux (2003: 172) has recognized it that a sociolinguistic model which would account for all the intricacies of a complex phenomenon such as language variation is impossible to create, and that "[Kachru's model] offers a useful shorthand for classifying contexts of English worldwide." Its main advantage is developing more appreciation of the contexts of the English language use beyond the varieties traditionally acknowledged as norm-giving, that is the Inner Circle ones. However, most importantly for this work, the model's rigorous categorization, and its *center-periphery* structure, now frequently forms a framework for discussions of power relations in academic writing for publication in English around the world.

The attempts to consider writing for publishing in English within the egalitarian framework of World Englishes discussed above, or ELF framework (Jenkins, 2006), in which native-speaker norms are not a requirement, have not been very successful, despite their greater currency than other models and their theoretical attractiveness. Two examples of the success in introducing ELF approach in this area are rather exceptions, namely the change in editing policies of the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, edited by Jennifer Jenkins, Barbara Seidlhofer, and Anna Maurenen, and of the book series *Developments in English as a Lingua Franca*, edited by Will Baker and Jennifer Jenkins. According to the policies of the publications, authors are not required to submit texts written in native-like English (Motschenbacher, 2013). Also, in a book on the dominance of English in science (a volume edited by Ammon, 2001), although it was subjected to linguistic corrections by a native English speaker, non-native-speaker traces of writing were not eliminated, following the editor's advice. Apart from these, however, academic writing is still dominated by the privileged English native-speaker standards. Therefore, academic publishing is most often discussed in terms of Anglophone *linguistic imperialism* (Phillipson, 1992, 2009), the approach which emphasizes the strength of native-speaker authority, and which will be referred to in the next section.

Although Phillipson's (1992) approach is completely different from Kachru's one, he uses similar terminology in the description of Anglo-American linguistic imperialism,

namely *the core* English-speaking countries, which correspond to Kachru's Inner Circle, and *the periphery* countries, which constitute the Outer and the Expanding circles. These terms, as the author writes, derive from a metaphor for rich, dominant countries (the core or the center), and the poor, dominated ones (the periphery), and are often used in the analyses of the relationships between them. They will be also used in further discussion in this work.

1.2. English as a global language, *linguistic imperialism*, and World English

Apart from World Englishes and ELF, another phrase which is often used to describe the role of English generally in the world, and in academia in particular, is English as a global language. With regard to the latter, however, first a few issues need to be clarified.

As Blommaert (2003) rightly points out, there is a misconception concerning the term *globalization*.² In many cases the process is understood as “the creation of worldwide uniformity” which is caused by “the spread of sociocultural and economic patterns, a new universalism” (Blommaert, 2003: 611). Following Wallerstein (1983), the author explains that the process of globalization should be understood more broadly within the world system, which is “a system built on inequality, on particular, asymmetric divisions of labor between ‘core regions’ and ‘peripheries’, with ‘semiperipheries’ in between” (Blommaert, 2003: 612). The keyword that the author uses to explicate globalization in connection with the English language is *scale*. Thus, there is a relationship between English, a *world language* (i.e., global), and other languages used by local speech communities. Another word which Blommaert (2003) considers as very important in this context is *mobility*, due to which both virtual contacts and physical movement are made possible through the use of technology of modern communication and transportation. In this line, when explaining the phenomenon of *global flows* with regard to languages, he states that constant circulation certainly exists, and consequently transformation of discourses takes place (see also: Phillipson, 2009). Thus, new language varieties spread around the world, but it is “[i]nequality, not uniformity, [that] organizes the flows” (Blommaert, 2003: 612). The author claims that the interconnectedness between states is realized through worldwide elites, and whenever items (or messages) travel around the globe they cross structurally different spaces, therefore they are perceived locally, differently. Finally, he states that:

Globalization implies that the developments at the “top” or the core of the world system have a wide variety of effects at the “bottom” or the periphery of that system. For instance, developments in the field of sophisticated multimedial and multimodal internet communication have effects on other, less sophisticated forms of literacy. (Blommaert, 2003: 612)

² A comprehensive description of the phenomenon in higher education and an elaboration on different types of globalization can also be found in Becher and Trowler (2001).

In his world-systemic perspective on sociolinguistics of globalization, Blommaert (2003) stresses the need to communicate adequately in a variety of spaces because our performance is exposed to value judgments of different communities. Differences in language use are instantly assessed and “translated into *inequalities* between speakers” (Blommaert, 2003: 615). Thus, they can be the source of both prestige and stigma, as different functions are assigned to language resources depending on the location where they are received. The author gives an example of urban Africans whose English can be the sign of prestige in their local environments but when used in the countries belonging to the Inner Circle, it may be the source of stigma because of value change in the new location. As he writes, “‘Good’ and status-carrying English in the periphery may be ‘bad’ and stigma-carrying English in the core of the world system” (Blommaert, 2003: 616). The example the author gives is an extreme one, but a similar situation may also take place in the context of writing for publishing in English, that is the value attached to English writing assessed as correct at an advanced level in eastern Europe, may differ from the value it will have when assessed by native English speakers, the publication gatekeepers of prestigious Anglophone journals. In this context, when discussing their concept of the *politics of location* and the notion of scale, Lillis and Curry (2010: 141) state that “what is valued on one point on the scale (in the local context) is not valued at a higher point on the scale (in the Anglophone-centre context) and scholars are often struggling to cross from the former to the latter.” However, as research shows (e.g., Hyland, 2015), in this case the main challenge may not be just formulating grammatically correct sentences, and generally avoiding surface errors by non-native speakers of English, but rather following Anglo-American rhetorical conventions of writing, and complying with other requirements of publications in international journals.

The next question which needs to be addressed from the point of view of the sociolinguistics of globalization is what makes English a global language. The number of speakers of English as a mother tongue is approximately 400 million (Crystal, 2006), which is not the highest as, for example, Chinese native speakers amount to over twice as many. However, it is not the number of people who speak a language from their birth which makes it dominant in the world. It is most closely linked with the English-speaking countries’ economic, technological, political and military power (Crystal, 2003). As Crystal (2003: 9) writes, “A language has traditionally become an international language for one chief reason: the power of its people – especially their political and military power.” The author gives examples from the earliest history of civilization development, namely the dominance of Greek and Latin in the ancient times, emphasizing that the correlation between the power of the countries and the spread of their languages was very strong. The dominance of the countries’ languages succeeded when the nations succeeded on the international stage and when they failed their languages also failed (Crystal, 2003).

Another fact is that English did not spread “naturally.” Its very rapid expansion, such as we are still witnessing now, and its maintenance, always required having deliberate international policies and economic power. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Britain was the leading country in trade and industry, and its political imperialism led